

The ordinary houses are mere mud hovels, which ³⁴² give the place an appearance similar to that of an Arab village. Every domestic operation is carried on in public, and the whole family may be seen sleeping ^[313] on the low flat roofs in full view of neighbours or passers-by.

Kurdistan is for the most part a barren country, ¹³³ cultivated fields and gardens being found only in the ²⁴¹ proximity of towns and large villages. With the ²³³ clansmen pasturage is the only resource, and in summer they wander from highland to highland seeking pasturage and water for their large flocks of sheep. A tribe on the march is a picturesque sight. The baggage is carried on the backs of bullocks, ⁴⁷² which sometimes carry in addition two or three chil- ⁴⁶² dren and the cradle, if the mother has not strapped this with its inmate to her own back. Striding along ⁴⁶² with the other women may be seen several Amazonian figures, who seem to be in charge of the party, and much more responsible for its safety than the men, who saunter along carrying only their arms, a heavy mace hanging from their girdles, and a sword and ^[44] buckler at their backs. Beyond guarding the flocks, the men take no part in the work connected with them, all of which devolves on the women.

Kürds seldom eat the flesh of their flocks, which ²⁴² they consider too valuable for consumption, but content themselves for the most part with the dairy produce, milk, cheese, and butter, curds and *yocert*, with thin cakes baked in the *tasbeer*, and a kind of pilaf made from wheat instead of rice. Butter is ²³⁴ made in a very primitive fashion. A large sheepskin

CHAPTER III

THE MERCANTILE CENTER

The mountainous character of the Rowandus region, its many peaks and gorges, acts to limit the amount of arable land. It would be difficult to estimate the actual extent of the land which might be brought under cultivation, but it could only be a smaller part of the country. Level stretches of land are to be found, such as the plains about Bates or Dyana, but many other holdings are no more than strips cut into hillsides or cliffs. On the other hand, in the absence of mineral exploitation or industry, a high percentage, perhaps 80%, of the population is directly engaged in agriculture or animal husbandry, and the productive wealth of the district is almost wholly derived from these two pursuits.

Game is not abundant, and hunting and fishing cannot be said to add any important supplement to the food supply. In the town of Rowandus itself there are four professional fishermen and a hunter, but their activities are seasonal, and they have additional employment. Deer, the long-horned mountain goat, is hunted chiefly for sport, and strong-smelling skins and horns are exhibited as trophies by local hunters. In accordance with Quranic prescriptions, if such game is to be eaten, it must be bled while still "alive," after having been brought down with a rifle. The local

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every village maintains its own little flock and its shepherd. In addition, individual households make a practice of buying animals to fatten for slaughter, for example, for the feast that ends Ramadan, and they wander freely in the yards and streets, usually given into the care of a youngster. Poultry and eggs are of similar dietary importance to the villager, and chickens, ducks, geese, and turkeys are kept in large numbers. Mountain partridges, too, ~~are kept in small cages~~ are kept in small cages for fattening. Poultry are usually left to forage for themselves, and almost every household has a number of chickens pecking for nourishment in its yard. One street in Rowanduz, to the fearful exclusion of dogs and hyasacra, was entirely dominated by a huge rooster.

For drawing the plough oxen are commonly used. Donkeys and mules are occupied with the transportation of burdens, sometimes far out of proportion to the size and apparent capacity of the animal. Only the Nestorian Christians seem to pack horses, unlike the Kurd or Arab. It is interesting that muleteers, like their compatriots in Europe and America, often carry on extended monologues with their beasts, quite oblivious to the amusement of listeners. One such speech, addressed to a donkey by a young driver and transcribed at the time run, is part, as follows: "Go along, uncle (Khalo), go along. Why are you so slow today? Why are you no longer a friend to me? Wilaki watch out! You nearly broke into that shop. Come along, uncle, you will have me killed one day." Horses, mules, and donkeys

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[242]492
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The principal crops of the Rawandian area, in the order of their importance, are tobacco, wheat, rice, and millet. Tobacco and rice require a more complex regimen, the former cultivated by hand and steel mattock and the latter transplanted into small, flooded plots. Wheat fields are more easily prepared by a light wooden plough drawn by oxen, and the grain is harvested with short, curved sickles of steel. Threshing consists in driving oxen around and around over the harvested sheaves, spread on a selected floor, until they are broken up, and separating grain and chaff in the wind with wooden forks. Because tobacco has a greater market value, it comes to be planted in increasing quantity, and wheat production has suffered correspondingly. Today both wheat and rice must be imported into the area, and millet is only a marginal crop. Every village devotes a certain amount of land and orchard to the production of vegetables and fruits, almost always irrigated. The former include beans, cucumbers, egg-plants, garlic, lentils, onions, tomatoes, and vegetable marrow, and the latter, apples, apricots, cherries, grapes, melons, pears, plums, and pomegranates. Almonds, gall nuts, and walnuts are important for retail, and are exported from the district. A red wine and arrack (a clear distillate of fermented grapes, flavored with gum arabic or spice) are fabricated by the Nestorians and, insofar as they are not consumed at home, are illegally sold about the district. Apiculture is a specialty of certain villages, and the beehives are transported among favored locations in mountain

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and valley according to the season. The agricultural year 231
approximates that of Central and Northern Europe, in that 241
planting begins in the spring and harvesting after mid-
summer. Winter is a lean season, particularly with respect
to fruits and vegetables, for there are almost no techniques [251]
known to preserve most varieties through winter and spring.

It is necessary to note that grain in the area is 256
ground into flour by water-driven mills, but their con-
struction, a water-driven rotor turning a millstone, need
not detain us.¹ There are three such mills (Kurdish, ashl,
from Arabic, hashira) near the town of Rowanduz, Ashl
Shaykhli immediately above the town, Ashl Miri in Hawikma,
and Ashl Sayebkh at Jindian. The general practice is to [465]
pay the mill-owner one bowl of flour from every four-gallon
tin ground. If the owner of the grain is wealthy, he may
pay the miller the monetary equivalent of the bowl, a small
sum.

It is almost impossible to describe a "typical" 361
agricultural village for the area, because there is a great
deal of variation in size, and some differences in the
emphasis placed on certain crops. However, a small
village overlooking the road between Shaqlawa and Harir
will provide some general idea. This consists of about
thirty rubble and mud-brick houses of a single-storey
with flat mud roofs, built in three rectangular tiers along 372

¹A detailed description is to be found in Leach,
1940, pp. 69-70.

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or windbreaks, and both of these demands are satisfied by the villager. There has been an extensive and serious attempt by the government to curb depredations of standing timber and to provide for reforestation of the district, but between the need for fuel in the winter and the desire for outdoor shelter in summer the trees continue to suffer.

The livelihood of the district, then, consists almost completely in agriculture and animal husbandry. Although the many difficulties which face cultivators and shepherds elsewhere are to be encountered here, and the year "fat" or "lean," the threat of famine seems to be very slight. Real starvation is only remembered from the days of the first World War when a Czarist army cut its way through the valleys, burning crops and villages, and emergencies since that time have been few. For the surplus, the fuel of district marketing have some variation. It has been seen that the Tobacco Monopoly, centered at Rowandus, controls the harvest and sale of tobacco. A high percentage of other agricultural and dairy products are consumed in the villages themselves. The surplus portions may be variously allocated, some sold directly from the area to agents coming from Erbil, others bought up in the town of Rowandus, and still others retailed in smaller mercantile towns in the district. It must not be thought that Rowandus exercises an exclusive commercial monopoly over the area, for there are a number of towns with their own merchants, a few of them real competitors, such as Dyana, and others a natural response to the requirements

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employed by the government, and those without work at all. 463

Bakers	8
Barbers	3
Blacksmiths	2
Bootblacks	2
Brickmaker	1
Butchers	4
Carpenters	4
Cloth-sellers (<u>basas</u>)	20
Cobblers	6
Drivers	2
Ferriers	2
Fishermen	4
General merchants	10
Hotel-owner (<u>chawki</u>)	1
Hunter	1
Itinerant traders (<u>siar</u>) ... variable: 30-50	
Laborers	variable: 35-50
Laundresses	unknown
Masons and builders	3
Midwives	4
Muleteers	3
Porters	8
Restaurant-owner	1
Roasters of meat (<u>kalabchia</u>)	3
Seamstresses	6
Servants	unknown
Tailors	8
Tee-shop owners	10
Tinsmiths	3
Weavers	2
Wholesale merchants	5

It is an interesting characteristic of Rowanduz that no 241
person living in the town is directly employed in agricul- [231]
ture or animal husbandry, nor does the town itself lay
claim to agricultural lands or pasturage, although a dozen
or so persons living therein own such property. There are,
to be sure, a number of gardens within its precincts, and [247]
not a few of its people have been drawn directly from the
soil. This circumstance, the total absence of cultivators,
seems puzzling at first, but a comparison with similar
towns seems to indicate it is probably fortuitous. The
salient feature appears to be the absence of everyday

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agricultural concerns and their concomitant social implications in the life of the townspeople.

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Of those who furnish the community with food and drink, the tea-shop owner or sharhi might be considered first. There are ten sharhi in the town. That located beside the sarai has already been noticed, and the other nine are all within the bazar area. The buildings vary considerably, for example, three occupy second storage overlooking the street, but the furnishings are singularly uniform. One such building, the "winner's" sharhi spoken of above, was of a single storey, rectangular, and built of mud-brick, with a yard on the street and a little porch overlooking the gorge behind. The yard, in use during fair weather, had a number of high, unfinished wooden benches and chairs arranged about it, and the same type of furniture was to be found within the building. In a corner of the room near the door was a huge brass urn, not unlike those used in our restaurants for coffee, a pottery water-jug, and a collection of stoneware. The owner usually occupied a bench beside the door and had a brass tray on the table before him in which he made change. He had a collection of celluloid counters for keeping a tally on tea sent out to the merchants. A waiter in skull-cap and slippers served the customers and brought the money to the owner.

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The etiquette of entering a sharhi varies somewhat according to the personalities of its customers. In

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or religious. In Ottoman times, while it¹ was an administrative center under Turkish rule, Rowanduz had considerable importance because it lay astride the trade route between Iran and Erbil, and from Erbil the Jazira plain and Syria, and a great volume of caravan trade passed through its gates. Today the automobile road constructed by British engineers bypasses the town and commerce following the old direction need have no reference to the town itself. With an obvious political background, the British mandate in Iraq and the withdrawal of Bolshevik Russia from Middle Eastern affairs, much of this same trade has dwindled. Prior to the first World War, a great part of the manufactured goods, like those of the general merchant listed above and merchandized in Iranian Azerbaijan and northern Iraq, came from Russia, porcelain, glassware, metalware, cloth, samovars, kerosene, and the like, some of the more precious items still preserved in Rowanduz households as family heirlooms. With the British domination of the markets of Iraq, the focus of trade for this area has shifted almost completely from the north to the south. One never sees an item manufactured in the Soviet Union in the bazaar of Rowanduz. It may be supposed that the Turks selected Rowanduz as a seat of government because of this importance in trade, and the administrative demotion of the town under Erbil, where formerly the two were equals, can be taken as a reflection of commercial decline.

It has been seen that the only important produce of

1 [i.e., the town of Rowanduz. - Analyst]

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the district is derived from agriculture and animal husbandry, and that the surplus production so obtained is marketed directly to Erbil or through a number of local centers, of which Rowanduz has major importance. As a channel of trade, however, between Erbil and the producers, the town must also depend to a certain extent on a profitable commerce with the villagers, either through its bazar or its itinerant traders. Here, too, volume has fallen, and two reasons can be cited, the first of which is the rise of Dyana. This village, the strongest mercantile competitor of Rowanduz, arose on lands owned by Lali Khan near a British rest-camp constructed during the second World War and now abandoned. Dyana is now sought out, at the expense of Rowanduz, for a very cogent reason. It is customary for a villager to have a continuous debt, usually five or ten dirars, with a merchant, paid off again and again and just as often recontracted. Many villagers now go to Dyana by reason of such a sum owed in Rowanduz, not because they wish to escape payment, but to obtain a desired respite and expansion of credit. Dyana is also easier of access from the new main road than Rowanduz, and this may contribute to its popularity. Whether or not the villagers will sooner or later exhaust their credit in Dyana and return to their old market is difficult to say. Second, in Ottoman times there were thirty or forty Jewish households in Rowanduz and they continued in these numbers until the coming of the Israeli War in Palestine. Most were skilled craftsmen and their departure for Israel,

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Fig. 7. Mike Smith in front of the remains of Koonsee.

The Watercourses and Springs

condition the siting of the villages. Some deep pits—dug in a row—at Topawa suggest the former use of quads. Watercourses and springs are dammed to form basins for the finishing of wool and for washing purposes. Irrigation canals lead across the fields of vegetables and tobacco. In digging these canals mounds (R.2241) and foot ploughs²² are used. The latter are worked by two men. The foot plough was seen in use down by the Lower Zab on the westward side of the fields. Around the villages of Topawa and Rakawa grow poplars, walnut trees, a few mulberry and fig trees. The hill sides have extensive growths of low oak. Above these villages lie the vineyards, the crop of which is used for the wine and dried to raisins. Around the villages of Sargala, Balhara and Tawella, which have ample water, are big fruit plantations with pomegranates, apricots and mulberries. The domestic animals are cows and oxen, goat, fat-tailed sheep, horses and black goats, Fries, dachshund, Lab. and -males, hounds with ducks, turkeys and geese. Hens, eggs, are kept in a heavy earthen tub with a cork stopper. There are also big, yellow sheep dogs and for hunting (wild pig and bear) Persian greyhounds²³. At 3 a.m. the cows are driven out of the village from the individual houses by children and old women. During the day the animals grazing on the slopes are guarded by young men. At 6-7 p.m. the animals are driven back



Fig. 6. Harrow claws from different areas. The National Museum of Denmark. Above, Turkish iron claws (M. 346). Below, Kurdish metal claws (E. 2342). To the right, a curved wooden board with pieces for three fingers; from the Lata, Iran (E. 1975).

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water from the clay roof of the houses after rain. Threshing at the open threshing floor takes place from July to October²². It can be done in two ways: the one is by driving round the belly-banged cows²³ three to seven domestic animals, such as donkeys, oxen, mules or whatever is available, tied together in a row and treading out the grain. This method was once used up in the mountains and on the Shahriz plain between Sulaimani and Halabja. The animals are driven round by men who with

The village owner

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Fig. 11. Village houses built up the slope, Tigris.

owner of the village leased the ground to his farmers and some could sell, move away or move in without his consent²⁶. Tenants owned their cattle, their implements and the only part of the house construction that was of value, the big poplar trunks that were used as rafters.

According to information obtained through my interpreter, tenants handed over 30% of the tobacco crop and 10% of all other crops, besides ploughing, harvesting and threshing for the village owner²⁶. On another occasion the interpreter gave the amount as 30% of both wheat and tobacco. However this information must be taken with reserve. Edmunds²⁷ gives 10% of the winter crop—wheat and barley—plus fees for grazing, butter and eggs. Leach²⁸ states 30% if the tenant himself supplies the seeds and possesses agricultural implements, but 75% if the owner of the village has to supply them.

During the British mandate period, 1918-1932, the Land Settlement Commission was established as "a court of claims relating to questions of land tenure" in connection with a "comprehensive program" of surveying for the purpose of covering systematically all cultivated land and finally "settle and register proprietary rights"²⁹. A representative of this commission held a meeting with farmers in the shah's courtyard at Erbil during my stay there.

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- 433 The economy of Kurdistan is primarily pastoral and agricultural. The
 233 nomads in particular are rich in sheep and goats, and their wool, goat-
 286 hair and dairy produce are always in demand. Rough carpets and cloth
 for the national costume are woven both by the nomads and in the vil-
 241 lages. The principal winter crops are wheat and barley; wheat from the
 Arbil plain and the Mosul district is reputed to be the best in the whole
 country and commands a high price; in most years there is an exportable
 surplus, but there is always a danger of drought and famine. In summer
 [144] wherever there is water the villagers persist in growing rice for their own
 needs in spite of official discouragement and the grave prejudice to health
 from malaria which is directly traceable to it. Minor irrigated summer
 crops are maize, millet and lentils. The most valuable money crop is to-
 [244] bacco, of which enough (9,000 tons in 1914) is produced for the needs
 of the whole country, and to spare. Other local products are walnuts,
 oak-galls, gum tragacanth, and sumac. Timber for building is floated
 [305] down the major rivers, and, on the Little Zab in particular, rafts of in-
 [307] flated skins called *halak* still carry grain and other north-country produce
 more cheaply than other forms of transport. Recent introductions to
 Kurdistan which are doing well are cotton and sugarbeets. Baghdad is
 [408] almost exclusively the market for all these commodities. Raines and
 dried mulberries from the highlands are generally taken to some nearer
 [407] point in the plains to be bartered for wheat and barley.
- 433 Apart from the great oil industry which has grown up round Kirkuk
 [362] since the first gusher was struck nearby in October 1927, there has so
 far been little industrial development. But many Kurds have been trained
 574 by the Iraq Petroleum Company in various branches of engineering, and
 large technical and industrial training colleges established or projected
 at Mosul and Kirkuk are well placed to attract Kurdish students. Private
 enterprise may thus be expected to supplement in due course an ambitious
 governmental programme.
- 651 This programme has been made possible by the enhanced and steadily
 increasing oil royalties which have accrued to the government since 1912
 (\$210 millions in 1911) and from which the northern *liwas*, like the rest
 of the country, have already derived great benefit: foreign experts have
 [54] been engaged to advise on improved methods of cultivating and process-
 [65] ing tobacco; a second experimental farm has been started near Sulaimani;
 artesian wells are being brought in for stock watering and for irrigation
 where suitable; old roads are being remodelled and new roads opened up;
 rivers and streams are being bridged; municipal housing, electricity and
 water schemes are being subsidized; particular attention is being paid to
 schools and hospitals; a cement factory is nearing completion near Sulai-
 mani; a power station with an initial capacity of 60,000 Kw. (and an ul-

Chapter I

Subsistence and kinship

SUBSISTENCE

71 Subsistence patterns of the settled population are essentially uniform over the whole South Kurdish area. A long day is spent by the farmer in food producing activities, in part because of primitive techniques, in part because labor is invariably expended in preference to capital.

243 Subsistence is based on cereal agriculture, combined with herding
233 (cf. Table I). With an average yearly rainfall of 400—800 mm.,
132 concentrated mainly in a rainy season during winter and spring, artificial irrigation is only necessary for special crops, such as rice and tobacco. — Wheat and barley are of approximately equal importance; tobacco, rice, cotton, peas, lentils, and garden patches of vegetables are subsidiary. Of these, cotton is a recent innovation, and typical only of the tenant villages with an active and interested landowner.

231 Among the domestic animals, sheep and goats are the important producers. Cattle are kept more for their use as work animals in plowing and threshing than for their products. Donkeys are used for all transportation, no wheeled vehicles are seen. The horse is primarily a prestige symbol, and has little economic use.

141 Productive techniques are generally underdeveloped. Agricultural methods are exceedingly simple, especially with regard to the basic

TABLE I
LIVESTOCK AND FIELDS OF THE HOUSEHOLDS IN DECOM

household	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Hadji Masud	2	3	3	4	66	2	1	23	27	4	1.5	4
Mahmud	2	7	4	2	39	4	1	15	15	3	.5	3
Derwish Hama	3	1	4	3	10	1	—	20	20	2	.3	4
Hadji Aziz	3	4	4	4	20	1	—	21	25	3	.5	3
Karin	3	3	2	3	—	1	—	10	10	2	.5	4
Derwish Hammad	3	—	2	4	1	—	—	15	2	.5	3	—
Hama	2	2	—	2	10	—	—	5	7	2	—	—
Ali	2	4	—	2	—	1	—	—	3	—	—	—
Rahman	2	3	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—
single woman	1	—	—	—	3	—	—	3	—	—	—	—
10 households, pop. 51	47		170	10	2	225		18	4	25		

(total measure 1 Decum = 10X10 m. = 1/4 hectare)

cereal crop. Much reliance is based on the general fitness of this crop 241 to the area. Consequently, the yield is low, and a large area per capita must be brought under the plow.

To preserve, in some measure, the fertility of the soil, the fields are left fallow alternate years. These fallow fields should however be plowed at regular intervals, obviously at considerable labor cost. (cf. Appendix I). The plow itself is made of wood, with a conical iron cover over the point. It has a very low level of efficiency, and it is generally necessary to cross-plow all fields. In the hilly areas, the slow moving oxen are the only draft animals, which further extends the period of labor. The outcome of this is that the Kurdish farmer spends a very great amount of time plowing, but with rather meagre results. Average return in wheat and barley seems to be c. 8/1 in an openly seeded field.

Reaping takes place, according to altitude, between May and July. The grain is cut with a short, curved sickle, and heaped on areas of hard unbaked clay by or in the field. Threshing is done by the oxen trampling the heaped grain, winnowing with a simple wooden fork.

464 stipulated, e. g. for reaping $1/6$ of the wheat crop, $1/3$ of barley
465 for plowing, food plus 100 fil/dy (= 2 shillings)
or 150 fil/day and no food.

427 The large landowner may rent out the rights to a certain village
or area for a limited period of time to some intermediary capitalist
for a small fee plus $1/2$ of the intermediary capitalist's profits. This
intermediary is then free to stipulate threashare of the tenants' crop
he wishes to collect as rent for the year. The number of non-
productive links in the chain from the laborer on the fields to the
ultimate landowner may thus become quite considerable, and the



Diagram No. 1. Share in division of a cereal crop.

division of the crop might be as illustrated in Diagram 1. More frequently, however, the intermediary capitalist is missing in the hierarchy, and the landowner, collecting direct from his tenants, is content with the smaller, traditional share of $1/3$ of the crop on un-irrigated land.

464 At harvest time, a characteristic work-gang in the grainfields of
• 241 a tenant village will consequently consist of 5-10 men, in part
made up of migratory labor, cutting the grain, and young women
carrying it to the threshing place. Threshing and winnowing, on the
other hand, are generally the work of only two men; plowing is
usually a solitary occupation.

312 Attending to the irrigation of the tobacco-fields usually follows
249 a different pattern. The various farmers who share a certain watering
system either tend it each in turn, or one man among them may
take on the major responsibility.

take on the major responsibility. In tobacco picking, all the women and children of the village take part.

Rice cultivation usually takes place far from the village, if it is pursued at all. Rice requires a quite well developed irrigation system, connected with a dependable perennial stream, usually in the main valley bottom. The growing season is long, generally said to last some seven months. Persons living close to the fields are hired to tend the rice, and 1/3 of the crop is collected by the landowner as tax. It is therefore an expensive crop, but is considered to be the finest kind of food, and has considerable prestige value. In Table I, village status groups are indicated by the size of individual rice crops.

ECONOMIC CLASSES.

The system of progressive delegation of land rights in the tenant villages, referred to above with respect to the basic food crop, is in considerable measure responsible for the lack of efficiency in agricultural techniques and the low level of capital investment in equipment. Each person in the chain from laborer to landowner is only interested in obtaining his part return, not in further investments. An example might illustrate the point.

Threshing is generally done with six oxen, without any mechanical appliances or equipment. There does however exist a quite efficient threshing machine (mentioned by Leach, 1948) which could greatly reduce the necessary expenditure of man-hours. The value of this machine was given as £ 12, its life approximately 20 years. It is generally considered that 2 mules working 5 days with the threshing machine do an equivalent of 6 oxen working 10 days without it. If we, to simplify comparison, equate the work value of a mule with that of an ox, that gives a reduction to 1/3 in man hours and 1/12 in expended energy. Though the gain thus seems quite spectacular, the threshing machine is, in fact, very rarely seen. The laborer himself has no capital to invest in equipment. The tenant farmer pays the laborer the customary share for doing the threshing, whether it is one way or another, and is certainly not interested in assuming any further expenses. Continuing up the hierarchy, there is no greater incentive to such investments for the intermediary or the landowner. Consequ-

- 565 ably, the laborer might save or borrow enough money to procure a
 • 241 thresher, and then be in a position to take on more work and thus
 increase his income. What the laborer with access to such capital
 in fact does, however, is to become a tenant farmer by obtaining
 the minimal equipment necessary for farming. He then rises one
 notch in the class hierarchy, and may employ laborers in the peak
 season of the harvest!

A class distinction is thus constantly reinforced within each village
 by these dispositions of capital and labor, dividing it into the distinct
 groups of tenant farmers and laborers — *aspañ* (harvestmen) in
 Kurdish terms. Prerequisite to being a tenant farmer is a minimum
 capital (1951) of ca. £ 50: 2 oxen at £ 10-15, plowing equipment
 £ 10, seed pr. dunum of land ca. £ 1. In addition comes the normal
 stock of productive animals for household use, of which the harvest-
 men also generally have a certain number.

The frequency of tenant farmers doing all or a major part of the
 agricultural work themselves was not ascertained, but it is certainly
 quite high. Thus the daily routine of field labor, and similarly the
 organization of household units, is essentially similar for the two
 classes, the tenant farmers and the laborers.

This two-class distinction is sufficient as far as the tenant villages
 is concerned. The landowner and his family, occupying a third class
 position, are usually residents of a nearby larger town. In the tribal
 villages, a similar two-class distinction tends to grow up between
 freeholding tribal farmers and conquered non-tribal tenants, though
 often the situation becomes more complex (see below).

HOUSEHOLDS

- 572 The division of labor in the village is thus to a certain extent
 [564] regulated by a two-class system. But the main division of economic
 roles and responsibilities is found within each household unit. The
 household is economically independent, and consists typically of one
 elementary family: husband, wife, and their children. Among these,
 the economic roles are distributed along the same lines that will be
 familiar from rural Europe. It should be unnecessary to enumerate
 600 these in detail. The male finds most of his work in the fields; his

APPENDIX I: Land use.

According to the Kurdish farmers, there are three classes of land for wheat and barley crops; the same field, differently treated, belonging in any of these three classes:

(1) *Washle word* (dry land). Old fields or new land is plowed once in the winter, while it is raining. In the middle of the spring it is plowed again, after which it is left fallow all summer, during which time it grows over with a cover of weeds. When the farm work is finished in the fall, the field is plowed again, the seed is spread by hand, and the field is cross-plowed. Ideally, it should be plowed once over once more, but few farmers have the time and animals to spare to do that. This is the best kind of land, and gives by far the best yield. The work should be finished before the winter rains set in, so the fields get the full benefit from them. In the spring, the crops also resist the hottest summer, since the plants have grown relatively large before the hottest season.

(2) *His word*. A simplified form of *washle word*, in which the farmer for some reason has not done spring plowing (the farmer was sick, his oxen sick, interrupted with too much other work, too little winter rain, etc.). The fields are thus plowed once in the winter, and then left fallow all summer. When the rains set in, the seed is spread (in spite of a considerable cover of grass and weeds in the field), and the field is plowed once over, in consequence of which most of the weeds die. This is not so good as *washle word*, but better than

(3) *Torre dal* (wet, unimproved), in which the field is not given a fallow year. The farmer waits for the first winter rain. After the earth is soaked, the field is plowed once. Some times the seed is spread and the field is cross-plowed as soon as possible. A better procedure is to wait for more rain, some 20 days or so, and then seed and cross-plow. In the meantime, some of the grasses and other wild plants will have seeded and commenced growing; these new plants would not. Most of the work connected with *torre dal* is done in the middle of the winter, in rain, snow, or even snow, and involves considerable discomfort. Furthermore, the plants being hard to develop, they suffer more from drought and the fertility of the land

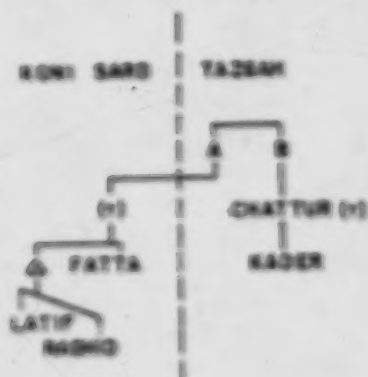
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is reduced from not being given a fallow year. The same field can not be used as time had for any longer period of time.

Essentially, then, the pattern is one of alternate year fallow and alternate year grain crop. Since no other major crop is raised on this type of dry, un-irrigated land, any pattern of rotation is impossible. Cow dung, being a major source of fuel, is not available as fertilizer. The constant plowing, in addition to making the land able to absorb and retain the moisture of the winter rains, should also be useful in building up the humus by burying the weeds that develop.

APPENDIX B: A conflict involving revenge.

- 6.25 The chain approximation to an actual blood feud which I observed in progress was concerned with the rights to land, and involved a small lineage which finds itself split between the two villages Tazgan and Koni Sard, in Hamarwal territory. The warring party being considerably more willing to discuss the situation, the following account may be slightly biased in their favor.



Two brothers, A and B, grandchildren of the present common ancestor, and both residents of the village of Tazgan, divided their father's land between them. A sold his field to a third person; B's son, Chattur, later bought it. A's son moved to the neighboring village of Koni Sard, where he worked as a landless laborer. Finally, A's grandson, Fatta, claimed the land back. Chattur, in possession of the land, expressed his willingness to sell Fatta concerned, saying that the crops of the past year were sufficient payment — a not uncommon argument. In the resulting argument, Fatta shot Chattur dead.

Kader, the son of Chattur, was then a very small boy, and Fatta was widely known as a competent rifleman, so nothing was done. After killing one more person, unconnected with the present conflict, Fatta became an outlaw.

Leach. The land potentially available for tobacco cultivation 249
is roughly speaking all the arable land that can be effectively 312
irrigated; - its extent being limited both by the configuration of the 621
land and the available water supply. Here immediately there are
complications. The irrigation system as at present arranged may serve
a number of purposes.

1. Irrigation of rice cultivation - which in most villages appear to be a personal plot pertaining to the Agha alone and not a tenant's holding in the ordinary sense.
2. Periodic irrigation of the vegetable gardens. In any re-organization this would have to be maintained.
3. Periodic irrigation of existing tobacco areas.
4. In some villages (e.g. Dergale) for driving the mill, which is owned either by the Agha himself or a near relative.

Any reorganization of such a system would affect a number of different individuals whose immediate interests may be directly conflicting. The Agha for instance is hardly likely to abandon his rice plot which is his personal property merely to provide his tenants with more water to grow tobacco; but on the other hand if he reserves the whole of the tobacco cultivation for himself the tenants whose land is interfered with will have a justifiable grievance. It might well be found in fact that in any particular village the rearrangement of the water supply so as to provide a greater tobacco acreage would in practice involve a completely new allocation of land holdings to all the inhabitants, a reform which would certainly be very difficult to carry out. It may be significant that at Jelas where such a re-organization of cultivation has in fact been brought about the Assyrian tenants were new arrivals in the district and there was no old established system of tenancy rights supported by an ancestral tradition.

A further question of interest is the problem of "marginal" 423
land. It is true that the land configuration, somewhat similar to 311
that of the Alpine villages of the Bernese Oberland, sets a definite limit to the area that can be cultivated, but on the other hand there seems to be a number of small marginal areas, at present under scrub, which might be brought into cultivation if the available water were more efficiently utilized and the cash incentive were sufficient to repay the extra labour involved. The 'rights' over such uncultured land meet at present exclusively with the Agha.

Labour. The labour available is the labour of the tenant 464
occupiers and their families; it would seem that the substitution of 241
tobacco for cereals would affect the balance rather than the volume of work required. Under the present system the wheat harvest comes in

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late June and threshing proceeds steadily from July to October. The much smaller rice harvest comes about the end of September. With less wheat and no rice, threshing could be finished by mid-september leaving labour free for the main work of the tobacco harvest. On the other hand the tobacco plant requires a good deal of finicky attention during the early stages of its growth which coincide with the wheat harvest. It is possible therefore that any radical increase in the tobacco cultivation is dependent upon the introduction of improved methods of threshing. A much greater difficulty arises from the fact that the change in labour requirements would not be equally distributed as between different households. Whereas at present each household has approximately the same programme of work, the situation would be greatly complicated if one man's land was devoted to tobacco and his neighbour's only to wheat. The difficulty could be avoided if all the tobacco cultivation were 'owned' by the Agha; - the commoner being under obligation to work for his Agha but not for a fellow commoner. Such a development would never be countenanced by the Government however since the system would be regarded as "exploitation" of the tribesman by his chief."

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Capital. The additional capital required for tobacco as opposed to cereal cultivation is not very significant. The Government is prepared to supply seed and expert advice; so far as I know the process of drying does not require any special technical apparatus. The re-organisation of the irrigation system would of course be an initial 'capital' expenditure for the community concerned.

Technique. On the other hand the mere statement that Government is prepared to offer expert advice rather overemphasises the social aspects of the technical problem. I have already noticed that the native Kurdish tobacco cured in the traditional manner results in a powdery substance that is quite useless for the purposes of a modern factory. In order to produce a marketable product, the farmer has to be taught entirely new methods. The reformer is here up against several types of difficulty. Firstly there is a staple conservative resistance, the dislike of new methods, not simply because they are new but because the practitioner in the old methods thinks he knows best. But there are other difficulties of a much more intricate kind. Here is an example.

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The Government are prepared to supply approved villages with a trained expert to supervise the growing and harvesting of tobacco. Such a man was supplied to the village of Balash. He was a Kurd, but a townsman from the plains and by no means a man of low moral

* In Bates, where in functional terms the Assyrian Bishop takes the place of the Agha, the tobacco crop is owned by the Church, and difficulties over individual labour requirements thus avoided. But then a Christian Bishop is obviously not the same thing as a tribal Agha!

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Ploughing

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The technical equipment available for land cultivation is extremely rudimentary. The principal implement the plough (see photograph) is of the simplest possible type, though small details of design vary from village to village. The example illustrated comes from the Kaper district. Its great advantage from the cultivator's point of view is its extreme lightness; it can be dismantled easily to a few moments and carried about by one man. This is of great importance where in order to reach some of the plots to be cultivated it may be necessary to find a stream or climb half way up a mountain. Thus despite its crudity of construction it is doubtful whether any more modern implement could fulfil the special requirements of the environment equally well. In the plains things are different. There in the big wheat areas capital expenditure on large scale mechanical equipment would be well worth while,* but in the hills the individual plots of cultivation are so small and the facilities so steep that a small portable implement is essential.

The disadvantages of the existing hill country plough is its appalling slowness. The chief reason for this is that the instrument makes a straight furrow and has no curved plough share to turn the soil over as in the European instrument. Each furrow is thus less than half as wide as that of an instrument which turns the soil over. But even again my immediate modification is difficult. To use the European instrument efficiently the land must be divided up into long rectangular strips so that the ploughman can go up one side and down the other. With a primitive straight furrow plough, such as the Scottish, the ploughman returns on his own track so that it does not much matter how short is each individual furrow. The typical smallholding resulting from the use of these different instruments are thus of different shape - with the European plough the typical smallholder's cultivation plot becomes as in France or Germany a long narrow strip; with the primitive instrument the typical plot is nearly square. Even if the existing Scottish plough were to be improved so as to carry a curved blade, it probably could not usefully be employed without a considerable redistribution of existing land holdings. Thus though educated Kirds, when lamenting the backwardness of their people, tend to deplore most of all the primitive inefficiency of their equipment, it seems to me most

* It is of interest to note that the manufacturers of harvesting machinery seem to be unaware of the existence of Iraq. I discussed the matter with the landlord Agis of Isakura, a village some twenty miles east of Erbil. He was a rich man with advanced ideas. He said that he was quite prepared to invest several thousand pounds in ploughs and harvesting machinery but that so far as he could discover there was only one firm of machinery makers with agents in Baghdad and they carried no spare parts.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAIL KURD MAIL
Rowanduz

unlikely that there will be any serious modification of the existing type of plough, at any rate in the hill country.

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Threshing

For threshing the hill people use no instrument at all; the cattle are merely walked round and round on the piled straw until the stalks are reduced to a fine chaff and the straw then winnowed with a fork in a light wind (see photograph). The process of threshing takes an immense time, often lasting from July to late February; any drastic change in the economic programme of the village - such as a switch over from rice to tobacco - must as I have shown be dependent on the extent to which this process of threshing can be speeded up.

A circumstance that I find very peculiar is that throughout the plains area, - where the wheat harvest is very large - use is made of a relatively advanced "threshing machine". This consists of a large drum and (see photograph) to the underside of which is attached a rotating set of metal blades for striking up the chaff. The apparatus is very simple and not, one would have thought, unduly expensive. But the curious fact remains that this device is not found in the hill country around Rowanduz at all, though the advantages must be well known to all.

The only explanation I could get was that in the hill country the wheat production was not great enough to make the more efficient method worth while; the argument seemed to be that so long as the threshing got finished before the rains came in November it was good enough. Whatever the real reason it seems likely that there must be some modification of existing threshing methods if there is ever any radical extension of the tobacco cultivation.

Land Utilization

The actual lay-out of the cultivation is primarily determined by the topography of each individual village. Rice, tobacco, fruit and vegetable cultivations are permanently sited, their position being determined by the lay-out of the irrigation system. The wheat on the other hand is worked on a two year cycle as noted already. The diagram summarizes roughly the lay-out of cultivation in Sulah at the time of my visit. It will be noted that all the fallow lies on one side of the stream and all the (1939) wheat crop on the other. Fallow corresponding to this next year's crop would be observed in the other villages I visited. It explains the fact however that the holdings of individual cultivators are not necessarily all in one place - in which obviously each working group must have approximately an equal area of land on either side of the stream. I thought at first that there might be some system of reallocation of land to different individual cultivators in successive years but my informants

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[See page 75 -- Analysis]

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Genial this. My information however on the actual topographical arrangement of individual holdings is definitely unsatisfactory. From the evidence it would appear that each working group of commoners must hold its separate plots at least the following:- one patch of vegetable garden, one patch of tobacco cultivation, one patch of wheat and one patch of fallow. But my informants never formulated the position to me in this manner. The problem is linked up with the question of inheritance concerning which my first hand evidence is very slight. As I have shown, it appears that as far as land is concerned the tapestries of the Kurds have evolved over a medieval framework. Granted however that the Kurds as landlord has a medieval right to determine absolutely the inheritance of land tenure among his tenants, it is still far from clear how this works out in practice.

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The rice cultivation seems usually to be the personal property of the Agas - this being true at least for Baluch, Sapat and Dargala. I did not discover what particular individuals are conscripted to work this cultivation or how they are recompensed. It is extremely hard to understand why in a village such as Baluch this cultivation is not turned over to tobacco. Sheikh Mahmud actually complained to me that one of the reasons he was so badly off compared with his enemy the Mir of Dargala was that the latter owing to better water supplies was able to grow so much more tobacco. Possible political reasons for this conservatism have been suggested in a previous section; another reason is psychological - from the Kurdish point of view it just is not seemly to go short of food and rely on the proceeds of a cash crop to make up deficiencies. In this perhaps the Agas show reasonable initiative foresight.

The Mill

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An institution which I have so far neglected but which is of more than merely technological significance to the mill. There is a mill associated with nearly all the larger villages. There are mills at Dargala, Sapat and Baluch. Baluch has none but there is one at Sapat. All are worked on the same principle which technologically speaking is very advanced. As may be seen from the diagram and photographs the machine is worked on a horizontal turbine and thus uses the "velocity" head of the water instead of the weight as in the more usual types of water wheel. This has various technical advantages - for instance it dispenses of the necessity for any gearing - and if the apparatus were "precision made" there is no reason why it should not be highly efficient. Actually the crudity of the craftsmanship makes it impossible to work the machine at any great speed and the output is limited to about $\frac{1}{2}$ ton of flour in 24 hours, working continuously. The operation of the machine is quite automatic and once started it requires only the slightest attention.